

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
1st Session

Vote No. 63

February 10, 1995, 11:35 a.m.
Page S-2453 Temp. Record

BALANCED BUDGET CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT/Social Security Referral

SUBJECT: A Resolution Proposing a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution of the United States . . . H.J. Res. 1. Dole second-degree perfecting amendment to the Dole substitute amendment to the instructions to the Dole motion to refer H.J. Res. 1 to the Budget Committee.

ACTION: AMENDMENT AGREED TO, 87-10

SYNOPSIS: Pertinent votes on this legislation include Nos. 62 and 65-98.

As passed by the House, H.J. Res. 1, a resolution proposing a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution, is virtually identical to the balanced budget constitutional amendment that was considered last year by the Senate (see 103d Congress, second session, vote Nos. 47-48). The resolution: will require a three-fifths majority vote of both Houses of Congress to deficit spend or to increase the public debt limit; will require the President's annual proposed budget submission to be in balance; and will require a majority of the whole number of each House to approve any bill to increase revenue. Congress will be allowed to waive these requirements for any fiscal year in which a declaration of war is in effect. Congress will enforce and implement this amendment by appropriate legislation. The amendment will take effect in fiscal year 2002 or with the second fiscal year beginning after its ratification, whichever is later. The States will have 7 years to ratify the amendment.

The Dole motion to refer H.J. Res. 1 to the Budget Committee would instruct the Committee "to report back forthwith H.J. Res. 1 in status quo, and at the earliest date possible report to the Senate how to achieve a balanced budget without increasing the receipts or reducing the disbursements of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund to achieve that goal." (The first trust fund provides Social Security retirement benefits and the second trust fund provides Social Security disability benefits.)

The Dole first-degree substitute amendment to the instructions to the motion to refer would provide instructions to the Budget Committee that were identical in substance to the instructions they would replace.

The Dole second-degree perfecting amendment to the Dole amendment would provide instructions to the Budget Committee that were identical in substance to the instructions they would replace.

(See other side)

YEAS (87)				NAYS (10)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Republican (50 or 96%)		Democrats (37 or 82%)		Republicans (2 or 4%)	Democrats (8 or 18%)	Republicans (1)	Democrats (2)
Abraham	Hutchison	Akaka	Inouye	Hatfield	Biden	Simpson- ^{4AY}	Johnston- ²
Ashcroft	Inhofe	Baucus	Kennedy	Packwood	Bingaman		Wellstone- ^{2AY}
Bennett	Jeffords	Boxer	Kerrey		Bradley		
Bond	Kassebaum	Breaux	Kerry		Byrd		
Brown	Kempthorne	Bryan	Kohl		Exon		
Burns	Kyl	Bumpers	Lautenberg		Hollings		
Chafee	Lott	Campbell	Leahy		Nunn		
Coats	Lugar	Conrad	Levin		Sarbanes		
Cochran	Mack	Daschle	Lieberman				
Cohen	McCain	Dodd	Mikulski				
Coverdell	McConnell	Dorgan	Moseley-Braun				
Craig	Murkowski	Feingold	Moynihan				
D'Amato	Nickles	Feinstein	Murray				
DeWine	Pressler	Ford	Pell				
Dole	Roth	Glenn	Pryor				
Domenici	Santorum	Graham	Reid				
Faircloth	Shelby	Harkin	Robb				
Frist	Smith	Heflin	Rockefeller				
Gorton	Snowe		Simon				
Gramm	Specter						
Grams	Stevens						
Grassley	Thomas						
Gregg	Thompson						
Hatch	Thurmond						
Helms	Warner						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

NOTE: Following the vote, the Dole first-degree amendment and the Dole motion to refer were adopted by voice votes.

A motion to commit and a motion to refer are the same motion (see vote No. 62). Such a motion is not amendable, but instructions thereto are amendable in two degrees. A Reid amendment to the resolution was pending when the Dole motion was made. A motion to refer has precedence over any pending amendments. The pending Reid amendment would provide that the receipts (including attributable interest) and outlays of the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund used to provide old age, survivors, and disabilities benefits will not be counted as receipts or outlays in balanced budget calculations. The Reid amendment was subsequently tabled (see vote No. 65).

Those favoring the Dole second-degree amendment contended:

We are absolutely, totally convinced that the Reid amendment would destroy the Social Security system, would render this balanced budget amendment meaningless, and would scar the Constitution. Under no circumstances can we allow it to pass. However, because of the scare-mongering that has been engaged in by its supporters, it has become necessary to offer the Dole amendment in order to reassure Social Security recipients that the balanced budget amendment is not intended to mask a raid on Social Security trust funds. The truth, as we all know, is that every Senator strongly supports the Social Security program--no other program enjoys anywhere near its level of support. Therefore, when the Senate makes the difficult decisions that will be necessary to bring the budget into balance, the very least likely area that will have tax increases or spending cuts will be Social Security. To suggest otherwise in support of the Reid amendment is at best politically naive, and at worst is deliberately deceptive and is designed to prey upon the fears of our vulnerable elderly. The Dole amendment would require the Budget Committee to report, as soon as practicable, on how to achieve a balanced budget without harming Social Security. We know that any budget plan that is adopted will achieve this end, but considering the anxiety that has been created by the scare tactics of some Senators, it is advisable that it be made clear to Social Security beneficiaries as soon as practicable. We therefore strongly urge the adoption of the Dole amendment, as a prelude to the rejection of the incredibly destructive Reid amendment.

While favoring the amendment, some Senators expressed the following reservations:

The Dole amendment is a fig-leaf that Senators will vote for so that they can claim they have protected Social Security when they will actually have done no such thing. Unlike the pending Reid amendment, the Dole amendment would not exclude Social Security trust funds from balanced budget calculations of total receipts and outlays. Without that exclusion, Social Security will not be safe. The Dole amendment would only require the Budget Committee to issue a report on how the budget can be balanced without using Social Security funds. Such a report would be mildly beneficial, however nonbinding, so we will vote in favor of the Dole amendment, but we still contend that the real vote will be on the Reid amendment next week.